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COLONIZATION.

LETTER FROM J. H. B. LATROBE, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN
COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

To — — —, Esq.—My Dear Sir: You ask me whether the plan of the President for the removal of the free people of color of the United States, with their own consent, to Central America, is, in any manner, the antagonist of the purposes of the American Colonization Society; and I reply, unhesitatingly, that it is not.

Africa was originally selected by this Society as the most desirable of all the localities that had been, at any time, suggested for the purpose in view. The selection was the expression of a most deliberate judgment. But the locality was not, necessarily, connected with the object of the Colonization Society, which is the preparation of a home to which the colored people may go, when circumstances beyond all human control, and rapidly accumulating, shall deprive them of all freedom of choice whether to go or stay, and leave them no alternative but removal.

The great merit of Colonizationists, since the organization of the Society, in 1816, has been that, foreseeing these circumstances, they have steadily persisted, through good and evil reports, in endeavoring to provide for them. The President admits that their endeavors have not failed, when he concedes, as he has lately done, that Liberia is a success. Now, if, in addition to the outlet which has been provided in Africa, another shall be opened in Central America, another in Hayti, and others in yet unthought of places, so much the better will it be for both white and colored people, when the necessity for the emigration of the latter, as the alternative to starvation here, becomes apparent to all men, whatever their complexion.

It would be otherwise were it the object of the American Colonization Society to build up settlements, to which settlements elsewhere would be rivals for a given trade. Then the President's plan would be antagonistic to ours. But our object being to provide a refuge

against a coming storm, for the sake of the parties exposed to it, those who provide other refuges, and so multiply the means of safety, are our fellow laborers and not our opponents. To suppose otherwise would be as idle as imagining that a boiler which had half a dozen safety-valves was inferior to a boiler which had but one. Indeed, the American Colonization Society should rejoice to see the President's plan tried. The Society was too poor to make experiments in 1816, nor has it since been in a condition to attempt them, even had it felt disposed.

Africa was selected, not because the constitution of the Society required it, but as a matter of judgment, and the selection has turned out so happily that no settlements have been attempted since in other regions. Still, it is within the range of possibility that it may not have been the best. The President, with means at his command which our Society never possessed, is going to test the question. If Central America turns out to be better than Liberia, as a home for the colored emigrant from the United States, every friend of the colored race will thank the President for his persistence.

The overriding success of Central America will still leave Liberia one of the great missionary agencies of the world; and if the American Colonization Society shall not have provided a home for a people, it will, at least, have done enough to entitle itself to the thanks and blessings of the Christian world.

I might stop now, with the reply thus given to your question, but I desire to say a few words in regard to considerations lying at the root of this matter, and in vindication of those who selected Africa for their earliest efforts.

The circumstances which will make the emigration of the free people of color a necessity hereafter, have already been generally referred to. They are embraced in the simple statement that, while the arable land of the United States is a fixed quantity, very little of which, comparatively, remains to be taken up, the population of the United States has increased from twenty-three millions, in 1850, to thirty-three millions, in 1860; and will, at the same rate, be one hundred millions at the end of the century, and two hundred millions in 1930, allowing even for the deductions to be made growing out of the present war. The effect of this rapid increase is, already, most apparent in the exclusion, by white men, of the free blacks from very many of their old employments. The pressure now felt is not going to diminish. On the contrary, it must increase, until a strife for bread takes place, in which the weaker of the two races, even now looking on each other as antagonists, must go to the wall; in other words, must emigrate or starve.

There is but one thing that can obviate this result—universal amalgamation—an amalgamation that would destroy the distinctions of caste, and make of the two races a mongrel, but homogeneous people.

On these grounds rests the whole theory of colonization, using the word here to express the purposes of the American Colonization Society—the fixed quantity of land, the rapid increase of population, and the impracticability of general amalgamation.

No one denies the first two of these propositions. It is the last, only, which is disputed. It is not necessary to discuss it here. Those who believe that the two races of white and black can be amalgamated into one: who would be willing that we should become mongrels, were amalgamation practical, or who fancy that, in a redundant population of distinct races, the white man will divide the loaf, already too little for himself, with the black man, cannot be affected by any argument that could now be made. At any rate, colonization assumes such an amalgamation to be impracticable.

With regard, next, to the wisdom of selecting Africa as the future home of the free colored people of the United States.

In the first place, Africa was the home of their forefathers, and its climate one, which, hostile to the white race, was congenial to the black.

Again, although distant, yet distance has not prevented the importation of the race into America, and the length of the voyage, after all, in 1816, was less than the voyages which brought the Pilgrims to this country, and whose length interposed no difficulty in the way of emigration to the early settlements in America. Even now it is far shorter than the voyages which are peopling California and Australia with emigrants whose motives for removal are far less cogent than those which operate now, and will operate hereafter with irresistible force, upon the free colored population.

Again, Africa was a home for the free blacks, to which the white man could not follow them, to revive in the Old World the contests of the New. In Africa, climate stands in the place of armies and fortifications, and this was a consideration peculiar to Africa, and not connected with any part of the American continent or its adjacent islands.

And again, colonization was to depend at last upon commerce, and Africa was a virgin market, access to which was a *desideratum*, and no better access to which, for commercial purposes, could be obtained, than through colonies of free colored people from the United States, accustomed, for generations, to the habits and dealings of civilized society, and competent to conduct the commerce, which, while it enriched them pecuniarily, would make them strong and powerful by the numbers which, through its aid, would find their way to them.

All these considerations, which entered into the judgment formed in 1816, have since operated in the building up of Liberia. It is to them that the "success" referred to by the President is to be attributed.

In this connection, let us look at this Central American plan; the reasons urged in support of it.

In the first place, Central America is not the home of the black man, but of a wholly different race, as distinct from his as is the white race, and its climate is one in which the white man *can live and thrive*.

In the next place, although it is *nearer* to this country than Africa, which is one of the main arguments urged in its favor, yet this proximity operates both ways. It has taken the power of Spain, and the existence of a strong party in the United States, and the powers of

France and England to prevent the annexation of Cuba to this country; and how long, is it thought, will the feeble colony of Central America, or even a nation of free blacks there, be able to resist the inroads of the whites into a land where they can live, where the precious metals and coal, which, when in the right place, is more precious than all, may be found, perhaps, to offer the same temptations that have carried thousands and tens of thousands from the Eastern to the Western shores of the continent of America, and this, too, when a seven-days' voyage is all that intervenes.

Such a result may not take place for years; the present generation may pass away and not see it, and the next generation too; but, when the increase of population shall crowd all classes in the United States, Central America, if it possesses the attractions for the blacks which its friends claim for it, will not be the only place where the white man can live exempt from the overflow of a population that has "o'erborne its continent." In truth, proximity, looking to the future, and colonization has few relations except with the future, is an objection rather than a recommendation to the Central American scheme.

In the next place, as has been already said, the white man can live and thrive in Central America, whose climate, therefore, affords no protection against the raids and forays and intrusions of his restless and ambitious race.

Peopled originally by the Spaniards, after the Mexican conquest, it remained under their control until revolution made it independent. White men, and men crossed with Indian blood, still hold rule there. The white population is scant only because there are other places where the white man can do better.

It is left in its present condition only until these places shall be filled up, and Central America becomes attractive enough to invite emigration, or the pressure of population at home causes a requisition there that compels it. For, after all, it is either the attraction of the new or the repulsion of the old home, or both combined, that has effected all the colonizations that have taken place from the days of the Phenicians to the present time. In this view of the case, then, emigration to Central America will result in little more than the continuation of the labor of the black man for the white that has been going on for centuries, with this difference, however, that while heretofore the labor has been around and about existing homes, in the case of Central America it will be in the preparation of homes for future generations of white men. It is not the bee alone who toils for others than itself, as Virgil knew and said, and as experience, since his day, has continued to demonstrate.

And in the next place, Central America possesses in a very small degree the elements of that commerce upon which, alone, can colonization safely depend. Congress may appropriate money enough to make the Central American experiment, but it cannot be expected to continue these appropriations beyond a limited period. After that, emigration must be self-paying and voluntary. Such has been the case with every successful emigration in the history of the world.

Australia was originally a penal settlement, to which convicts, as emigrants and settlers, were sent at Government expense.

The emigration, however, that has made Australia what it is, and given to it its present promise, has been a voluntary and self-paying one, encouraged, in the first place, by the wool-growing facilities of the country, and afterwards by the discovery of gold, but carried on wholly by a healthy and profitable commerce. Of the same description has been the emigration to California. Convicts were formerly sent to Maryland and Virginia at the public cost, but it has been the self-paying emigration of Europe that has made us what we are.

In determining, then, the comparative merits of Liberia and Central America as localities for the colonization of free people of color, future probabilities, looking to commerce, become of primary importance, and here, it must at once be admitted, that the preponderance is altogether in favor of Liberia, as one of the portals of the vast continent which thirsts for the products of civilization as the sands thirst for the dew. We have had the commerce of Central America for years, and it is utterly insignificant.

Nor can any number of colonies of free blacks that may be planted there, or any nation that may grow out of them, give to it the importance which the commerce of Africa has for years past enjoyed, both in Europe and America. It is only necessary to read the travels of recent African explorers to appreciate the present value, and be satisfied of the growing demand of the commerce here referred to. Livingstone found cotton goods with the stamps of mills in Massachusetts on the upper waters of the Zambesi, and Barth furnishes, in detail, the data, which shows that nothing is wanted but facility of access to open markets in Africa for all the products of our manufacturing.

Every year, as some new explorer enters the field, multiplies the evidence in this respect. England has had for some time a line of steamers to the Bight of Benin, whose profits are amply remunerative, and in other ways has been using her best efforts to reach the new markets that Africa contains. France is doing her part for the same purpose, and the commercial statistics of this country show how large has been the increase of the African trade. The late act of Congress recognizing the independence of Liberia, and thus freeing our trade from an injurious discriminating duty, will produce a still further increase.

The following statistics, prepared by William Coppinger, Esq., the Secretary of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, and to be found in the last report of the Society at Washington, afford some idea of the rapidity of the growth of African trade:

"In 1853 the export of palm oil from Lagos was 160 tons; in 1857 the declared value of this, with a few other articles, was £1,062,806. From Abbeokuta, interior a short distance from Lagos, the increase of raw cotton has been enormous. In 1852, 9 bags, or 1,810 pounds were exported; in 1858, 1,819 bags, or 220,000 pounds; and in 1857, 3,447 bags, or 416,341 pounds. From the Island of Sherbro, near the northern confines of Liberia, a cotton trade has sprung up in six years to the value of £61,000 for the last twelve months reported. Sixty thousand tons of palm oil are esti-

mated as sent annually from the western coast of Africa, and the quantity that reached Great Britain during the year 1859 was 804,326 cwt.

"The exports of British goods during the first six months of the three past years are stated as follows:

	1858.	1859.	1860.
To Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast, British.	£95,404	£148,538	£139,643
To other parts of West Coast of Africa.....	336,939	344,710	471,619
Total.....	<u>£432,343</u>	<u>£493,248</u>	<u>£611,262</u>

"This table shows an increase of nearly forty per cent. in quantity and value, compared with 1859, and about fifteen per cent. in quantity and forty per cent. in value over 1858."

In fine, commerce seems to have kept pace with those exigencies which make colonization a necessity, and may be safely relied upon as the all-sufficient means of taking to Africa the free blacks of the United States, in the same way that it has been bringing to America the redundant population of the Old World. A penal settlement may be maintained at the cost of Government, as Botany Bay was by England; a colony may be founded, and for a season be kept up by voluntary contributions of benevolent individuals, as Liberia has been by the American Colonization Society; but the emigration which is to transplant a people from one continent to another, must be a voluntary, self-paying emigration, brought about by the convictions of interest, depending, as already said, upon the attractions of the new home or the repulsions of the old one, or both combined.

Such will be the emigration of the free colored people from the United States; and whether it shall take place to Africa or to Chiriqui, in Central America, must depend upon the commercial interests that will be developed in the ordinary course of events in a vast continent or in the petty State to which the attention of those most interested is now invoked. This is a question which the free people of color must determine for themselves. They have the intelligence to do so. The President proposes to afford them the opportunity. It is hoped they may avail themselves of it. They have tried Hayti, and Trinidad, and Demarara. Let them now make trial of Chiriqui.

The argument here suggested, however satisfactory to many, ought not to stand against a successful experiment in Central America; and colonizationists would only show their willingness to sacrifice the interest of the free blacks to mere pride of opinion were they to oppose its being made.

Very truly and most respectfully, yours,

JNO. H. B. LATROBE,

President American Colonization Society.

BALTIMORE, September 5, 1862.

[From the Christian Mirror.]

THE NEW NATIONALITY.

NUMBER I.

Congress admitted at its late session a new member into the family of nations with which this Government has diplomatic relations. It is *Liberia*—land of the free—situated on the west coast of Africa, between ten degrees on each side of the equator; extending about six hundred miles along the shore, and from fifty to one hundred miles into the interior, comprising about thirty thousand square miles of territory, with more than three hundred thousand inhabitants, of which some fifteen thousand are emigrants, and their descendants, from the United States.

It is wholly a country of colored people. No person can be a citizen who does not admit that African blood runs in his veins. Its present Chief Magistrate, Stephen Allen Benson, is a man of pure Negro extraction—a native of Maryland in this country, carried by his parents, when a child of six years, in 1822, to that colony, which was then forming the nucleus of Liberia. Its Government resembles our own. It has a "Declaration of Independence," a "Constitution," a Legislature, composed of a Senate and House of Representatives elected by the people, a Supreme and other courts of justice, a small navy, and a well-trained militia. The President and Vice President must be thirty-five years of age, and have property to the amount of \$600: and their term of office is two years. The members of the House are elected for two years, and of the Senate for four years. Universal freedom prevails under its jurisdiction. The English is the national language. The tastes, and customs, and sympathies of the people are eminently American.

It has able men in the professions, industrious men in the field, skillful men in the shop, shrewd men in the market. It has good citizens, with more than fifty Christian churches, and three thousand communicants, and as many Sabbath school children. It has schools and seminaries, and a college with competent instructors. The press also is there, with its regular issues of the newspaper and other publications.

Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, so named after President Monroe of this country, a distinguished friend of the settlement, is beautifully situated on Cape Mesurado, about seventy-five feet above the level of the sea, in 6° 19' north latitude and 11° west longitude. Its population is about three thousand five hundred. Its position is peculiarly favorable for commerce with the interior, by means of the St. Paul's, the Junk, and other navigable rivers.

The college edifice lately erected there, has a commanding site, on a twenty acre field for play grounds—granted by the Government. It was built by the beneficence of good people in Boston, Massachusetts, and vicinity. Four thousand acres of land is donated to this

institution by the Liberian Legislature. Ex-President Roberts (a Methodist) is President; Rev. Alexander Crummell (an Episcopalian) and Rev. E. H. Blyden (a Presbyterian) are Professors. It is already supplied with a respectable library and geological cabinet, and is soon to receive pupils.

The entire faculty are just now on a visit to this country. The buildings, streets, manners, and customs of the people of Monrovia are very much like those of places similarly situated in this country. The inhabitants are as industrious, moral, religious, and happy, as those of any like place in the world.

The Monroviaans are great Sabbatharians. Says Gerard Ralston, of London: "They go constantly to church; and so closely do they respect the Sabbath, that when the Prince de Joinville, the captain of the French frigate Belle Pólee, came into their port on Sunday, and offered to salute their flag, it was declined because of their unwillingness to have the Sabbath desecrated. So, also, when Captain Eden, of one of her majesty's ships, was ordered to call at Monrovia to salute the flag, provided it would be returned, when he was informed that it could not be done on that day, being Sunday, but it would be done on the following day, (Monday.) Captain Eden, being pressed for time, saluted on Sunday, with the understanding that the salute would be returned to the first British cruiser that came into port."

The climate of Liberia is warm, but equable, and tempered by frequent rains and daily sea-breezes. The year has two seasons—the wet, beginning about the middle of May, and the dry, commencing at the middle of November. The average temperature of the former being about seventy-five degrees, and of the latter about eighty degrees, so that the heat is never so great there as it is at times in this country. This is a salubrious clime to the man of color, but noxious to the whites. "Many attempts," says Gerard Ralston, "have been made by different nations—Portuguese, Dutch, English, French, Danes, and Swedes—to establish settlements of white colonies on various intertropical portions of the African coast, and all have failed from the same cause—the deadly nature of the climate.

The average length of the life of the white man there is said to be less than four years, while the colored immigrant will live as long as others of his race in America.* All immigrants, however, have to pass through a brief acclimating fever, in which death now rarely occurs. It is remarkable that foreigners must spend the night on board ship, while they may be on land from eight o'clock, A. M., to eight o'clock, P. M., with safety from the miasma.

The two largest rivers within the present limits of Liberia are the Cavally, in the southeast, navigable to vessels of fifteen feet draft for eighty miles, and the St. Paul's, in the northwest, navigable for sixteen miles to ships of twelve feet draft, and extending into the country three hundred miles, through a fertile and beautiful region. Numerous small streams, some of which are half a mile wide fifty miles from the ocean, are navigable for small boats various distances.

*We view these statements as in some degree erroneous—ED.

Excellent fish abound in all these streams. The soil yields a rapid and abundant reward, being exceedingly fertile and prolific for almost every kind of tropical fruit. Half a million of coffee trees are under cultivation, and considerable quantities of this article are exported to Europe and this country. A single individual raised last year sixty thousand pounds of sugar. Cotton, being also indigenous to the soil, is beginning to be extensively cultivated, and a large trade in this staple, it is expected, will soon be opened with the nations in the interior, who raise and *manufacture* into cloths annually, as estimated by Mr. Crummell, not less than one million of pounds. Palm oil and the palm nut are prominent articles of export, the annual traffic of which on the west African coast is valued at more than *ten millions of dollars*.

Forty vessels are owned and manned by the Liberians, and their commerce with this and other countries is already greater than that of New York for the first half century of its existence.

From recent official tables, it appears that of sixty countries with which the United States have established commercial relations, Liberia stands number eighteen in the scale of importance, the value of our annual trade with her being—exports \$2,062,723, imports \$1,755,916.

The facilities of Liberia for expansion into the interior are abundant. Explorations have been made eastward from Monrovia to the distance of some three hundred miles, which bring to light the most tempting inducements to the formation of new settlements and the introduction of the arts of civilized life. The native tribes are favorably disposed toward the Republic—and in their physical, mental, moral, and social condition, they promise much more of good than many of the coast tribes. Vast resources of wealth, agricultural, mineral, and industrial, have been found in these “regions beyond,” and their capabilities are such that all the colored population of the globe could not exhaust them for ages. A wide and most inviting field is here open for all the people of color in this country, and for the most enterprising commercial, philanthropic, and Christian labors. It is fit that the Republic which has opened the door to this interior region should be recognized by our Government. We rejoice that this act of justice and policy is at last done. All honor to the noble men, dead and living, *of every part of our country*, who have labored for this auspicious result.

NUMBER II.

In addition to what we said last week, we would add further—The origin of Liberia is worthy of notice. It is purely American, philanthropic, and Christian. As early as 1770, before the American revolution, the scheme of civilizing and christianizing the natives of Africa by means of her returning children from this country, was broached by Rev. Samuel Hopkins of Newport, Rhode Island, and other good men in different parts of the country. In 1816 it assumed organic form at Washington, being directly stimulated at that period by the palpable necessity of making some better provision for

the free people of color—the manumitted slaves and the recaptured natives of Africa—than could by any means be effected on this continent. At its head stood Bushrod Washington, of Virginia, as President, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, Henry Rutgers, of New York, Samuel Smith, of Maryland, W. Phillips, of Massachusetts, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, Robert Ralston, of Pennsylvania, John Taylor, of Caroline, Virginia, Robert Finley, of New Jersey, Mr. Henry Crawford, of Georgia, and Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, as Vice Presidents—with many of the greatest statesmen and the best philanthropists of those halcyon days, from every part of our country, enrolled as members of the “*American Colonization Society*.”

Under the auspices of this Society, explorations for a settlement of colored people on the west coast of Africa were made by Rev. Samuel J. Mills, of Connecticut, and Rev. E. Burgess, of Massachusetts, and others. Purchases of land from the natives were made, and in January, 1820, the first emigrants embarked at New York for the commencement of the colony which was the nucleus of the present *Liberia*. Slave traders and pirates from all civilized nations then infested all that region.

More than forty slave factories existed there, from which thousands of victims were taken to foreign lands. Whole tribes had nearly been annihilated by the desolating traffic of the slaver, and the coast for a considerable distance into the interior had been almost depopulated. The natives had been corrupted with every vice and crime of civilization of which savages are capable, and if there were any spot on earth more than another where Satan had his “seat of abominations,” it would seem to have been Cape Mesurado and the vicinity.

It was not, therefore, to be expected that a peaceful Christian settlement could easily be made. Great perils must attend any efforts of that kind. Great sacrifices of life and labor and of treasure might naturally be required. Many years, it might be anticipated, would be needful to mature the little colony of “feeble folk” into a strong Republic. Moreover, though history indicated that the law of colonization among all other people was favorable to their success, yet the inscrutability of Providence respecting the future destiny of the native tribes and of their returning descendants, might justly try the strongest faith.

Nevertheless, what do we now see? A *Christian Republic*, an honorable and prosperous *Nationality* for the man of color, wrought out in little more than that a single generation upon the continent of his forefathers, the slavers banished, the “factories” demolished, vice and crime put to shame, and sorrow and tears changed into joy and songs, “the wilderness and the solitary place glad,” and “the desert rejoicing and blossoming as the rose.” Surely this is an abundant reward for all the labors and munificence that have been bestowed upon *Liberia*.

History does not furnish a more distinguished example of success in a colony in the face of similar obstacles. No benevolent enterprise was ever more clearly favored by Divine Providence. No friends of a good cause ever had more satisfactory reasons for joy in their benefi-

cent work, than they who have so unselfishly bestowed their sympathies and their charities upon African colonization. The one million of dollars bestowed by benevolent people upon this object, and the moral and material aid given it indirectly by our Government in years past, have been wisely invested, and we are reaping "an hundred fold now in this time." May this magnificent enterprise prosper until Africa shall be civilized and evangelized, and her "sons from far," and the "daughters from the ends of the earth," flock to her in admiration and joy!

It is remarkable that just at this point of time our Government has recognized Liberia, by the establishment of diplomatic relations. This act is the result of the labors of many good men for many years in all parts of our country, and is not to be attributed to any political party or particular administration. From the time of Thomas Jefferson to that of Abraham Lincoln, the Government of the United States has "never treated Liberia otherwise than as an independent State." It has merely refrained from entering into diplomatic relations with that State, as it does with many others whose independence is not questioned. Its support in various ways has uniformly been given to the enterprise of establishing there an African Nationality, but, though the friends of Liberia have often petitioned for the formation of treaties of commerce, &c., Congress has never granted the request until now, in the day of this country's trouble.

Never have Africa and the welfare of her descendants in other lands attracted so general and so profound interest among all philanthropists and Christians at this day. The question of what shall be done with and for the rapidly increasing free colored people of this country lies now at the door of every American patriot. The notion of their attaining perfect social equality, and the highest happiness, by remaining here alongside of the white man and "fighting it out," is now entertained by few. They must go somewhere—subserviency or annihilation must ensue if they remain. Independence, culture, and the highest positions can only be achieved by emigration. How benignant, therefore, is the Providence which has raised up Liberia, and opened her doors wide and made them attractive, for the exigencies of this generation! How significant the birth of an African Nationality, with an American form of Government, the English language and Bible, and the Protestant religion—a Nationality erected by the hands of enterprising people of color, who have gone out from among us "to seek a right way" for themselves and their "little ones," and to build up the institutions of civilized life for their brethren in Africa! The American Negro herein fulfils, under Providence, a mission of the most grave and select nature. No other class of people on earth could perform such a work in Africa. The Caucasian of the Anglo-Saxon and other families has attempted in vain to achieve that end. It has pleased God to use the colored man of this country for introducing civilization and religion into that continent; for though Sierra Leone had an existence as early as 1787, the nucleus of that English colony was some American Negroes who were shipped from Newfoundland to London after the revolutionary war.

Let American Christians ponder this fact, when their faith is taxed by the great and grievous evils which colored people experience in this land. Let statesmen reflect on it before they embrace schemes of colonization on this continent, which, though they may serve to modify certain present trials, will only augment the severities of the future. Let even short-sighted politicians and stock-jobbers consider it, before they inflict still greater injuries upon the welfare of the man of color; by using men only as a stepping-stone to place and gain! Let the authorities of our Government regard the use which Divine Providence is making of the American Negro in Africa, before they consent to yield up the recaptives to the lowest bidder among foreign nations, and the freed slaves of the South, and other colored people of the North, either to the tender mercies of a Chiriqui company, or of an idle and profitless experiment. That patriotism which aims chiefly to "get rid of the negroes" with the least expense, and in the quickest possible way, is as blind and destructive to the best interests of our country as it is selfish and cruel toward the colored race.

Africa is the providential home of the man of color, and he will never find rest until he enters that home. Past events teach this truth, present realities enforce it, and no partial and temporary expedients will ever destroy its force. Let, then, the friends of the colored race and of our troubled country accept with all readiness the aid which Liberia now proffers Americans, for the solution of the great and ever troublesome problem of the Negro and his destiny. Let them encourage her endeavors to attract with "cords of love" this depressed portion of our population to the sunny home and honorable nationality which, for them, she is now beautifying and maturing with the graces of civilization and religion.

Liberia alone can receive, and with the proper aid from this country, safely provide for fifty thousand or more immigrants, and within a short time she could give a peaceful home to every descendant of Africa now on American soil. Let her have our help, and our great debt to Africa is paid by our benevolence. Let the auspicious recognition be followed by deeds of justice and humanity to the daughter of our munificence, and America be saved by the redemption of Africa.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

It is unnecessary to invite special attention to the able letter of J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq., the President of the American Colonization Society, replete with facts and arguments enforcing the importance of the great scheme of the American Colonization Society upon the public judgment. The subject of this letter is rising into the magnitude originally predicted by the founders of the institution, and must extend its benefits to those vast multitudes which it has ever embraced in its benevolence. Constitutionally confined in its direct action to free colored people, its moral influence was designed

and has extended far beyond them to all slaves that shall be voluntarily emancipated, and to the entire African race. In all States of the South have been found individuals penetrated with a sense of the value of freedom to others as well as to themselves, and anxious to bestow this boon upon their slaves in such way as should conduce most effectually to their welfare and to that of their race. A similar sentiment has, from the origin of our Government, pervaded many minds at the North, and they have rejoiced to see liberty conferred upon slaves prepared to receive it, in such manner as to render it a blessing alike to society, themselves, and the country most appropriately their home. Justly has it been said that African colonization is a "circle of philanthropy, every segment of which tells and testifies to the beneficence of the whole." The doctrine of the unity of the human race, and also that of the unity and universality of Christian benevolence, are maintained both by reason and Revelation; and while it should be left to our free people of color to choose their own homes, many great considerations may move them to turn their eyes and hearts to Africa as that of brightest hope and promise. Let them consider the Providence of God in human affairs, in their own history, in preparing for them a free and independent national home on the African coast; in opening before them, there, a boundless region for distinction and happiness, for usefulness and duty, where, as Christians, they may proclaim the Divine law and the liberty and consolations of the everlasting Gospel, turn the habitations of cruelty into dwellings of peace, and the shadow of death into the morning.

Our free people of color are urged to go to Hayti, Demarara, and Central America, but the reasons for emigration to these countries seem inconsiderable in comparison with those on the side of Liberia. But let those who desire to try them, make the experiment. Yet thoughtful men of color will naturally consider that in attempting a new settlement in a new region, they will have much hard and difficult experience to learn, which the people of Liberia have been acquiring during forty years, under many wise teachers, who have surrendered life in their service. Are not the people of Liberia emphatically their kindred and friends? Have they not emigrated from the same States, many from the same neighborhoods? Have they not gone to Africa with the expectation that their brethren would follow, and be welcomed to the great inheritance for the African race?

And can any one doubt that the exiled children of Africa in this Republic are peculiarly adapted to plant civilized institutions, a free Government, and the Christian faith in their ancestral land; that they will find the climate, productions, and people of their mother country suited to their constitutions and identified with them, so as to be emphatically theirs, in a sense in which no other country is theirs; and that on the shores of Africa they will stand forth and say, as they could say nowhere else, "This is our own, our native land." Here are we summoned to the mightiest work for our posterity, our race, and humanity, ever assigned to any people; that long disciplined in a foreign land, we now return home to enlighten and bless African nations—our brethren—to rescue them from cruel idolatries and ages of superstition and bondage, and introduce them to a knowledge of Him who came "to preach liberty to the captive and the opening of the prison houses to them that are bound."

In the African Repository for September, 1830, we discussed at some length "South Carolina Opinions of the Colonization Society," and maintained—

"1. That those who established the Society looked for aid to the States and to the National Government, and that themselves, by their constitution, were to co-operate, if practicable, with those powers in effecting these objects.

"2. That they had no desire or intention of interfering in any way with the rights or the interests of the proprietors of slaves.

"3. That they considered slavery a great moral and political evil, and cherished the hope and belief that the successful prosecution of these objects would offer powerful motives and exert a persuasive moral influence in favor of voluntary emancipation."

These views, we believe, met with the general approbation of the friends of the Society, since generous aid has been given to it since that day by individuals and States at the South, and nearly if not one half the emigrants to Liberia have been composed of slaves voluntarily liberated. The great men of Virginia and other southern States looked anxiously for the adoption of measures on the part of particular States, with the co-operation of the General Government, of benefit not only to the free people of color, but for the manumission and colonization of slaves by the liberality of masters and the consent of State Legislatures. The resolution of the Hon. Rufus King, of New York, laid upon the table of the Senate, indicating the public lands as a fund to be applied to this end, met the approbation of Mr. Madison and Judge Marshall, and even as early as February, 1824, Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Mr. Sparks, gave his sanction to the scheme, observing that in the disposition of these unfortunate people, "There were two rational objects to be distinctly kept in view: First, the establishment of a colony on the coast of Africa, which may introduce among the aborigines the aids of cultivated life and the blessings of civilization and science. By so doing we may make them some retribution for the long course of injuries we have been committing on their population. And considering that these blessings will descend to the *nati natorum et que nasunter ab illis*, we shall in the long run have rendered them more good than evil. To fulfil this object the colony of Sierra Leone promises well, and that of Mesurado adds to our prospect of success. * * * * *

"The second object, and the most interesting to us, as coming home to our physical and moral characters, to our happiness and safety, is to provide an asylum to which we can by degrees send the whole of that population from among us, and establish them under our patronage and protection as a separate, free, and independent people in some country and climate friendly to human life and happiness." It is true Mr. Jefferson thought the colonization of our whole black population in Africa impracticable, but this letter was penned in the dawn of African colonization, and long before Liberia had acquired her extensive territory or her independence as a republican State.

But the great events of the time call general attention to African colonization in its wide relations and grand proportions. The interests and destiny of the black as well as of the white race seem to be more and more

involved in the progress of our great civil war. We cannot, if we would, close our eyes to this fact—a fact which forces itself upon us from all directions. It has occupied the deliberations both of the legislative and executive departments of the Government. The proposal of the President to the border States we have presented to public consideration. It was submitted as a measure of union and peace. The emancipation of slaves in the District of Columbia and the appropriation of \$100,000 to aid in their colonization indicated the sentiment of our Government and people on the subject.

The report of the select committee of nine (printed, but upon which there was no action during the last session of Congress,) proposing to aid the border States in the abolishment of slavery and the colonization of the black population from their limits, although regarding with favor the Central American colonization, indicates a strong and generous purpose by proposing to devote \$20,000,000 to the accomplishment of this great measure.

On the 10th day of August the President of the United States gave audience to a committee of colored men, invited to meet him, and addressed them in the kindest and most persuasive manner, expressing his hope that they would take into consideration the question of colonization, and his purpose and wish to aid them to secure comfortable homes in some part of Central America, and desiring them to consider whether they would co-operate with him in this enterprise. More recently Senator Pomeroy, "to whom the first movement is to be entrusted, has issued an address to the free colored people of the United States, and which has been approved by the President, in which he proposes, at as early a date as five weeks from the time of the address, to take out to Central America a colony of five hundred colored persons, to be settled permanently in that country. The immediate point of their destination is to be Chiriqui—well known from the discoveries of ancient gold there—in New Granada, which is but a week's voyage from the port of New York. They are to be carried out and supported for the first season at Government expense, a small fund for that purpose having been appropriated by the last Congress. The sum required will be small, as they will be carried out in national vessels, while the country to which they emigrate is so fertile, and so profuse in edible products of all sorts, that the only support required will be implements and seeds, and a temporary supply of provisions."

It is little agreeable to our sense of right and reason that in such northern States as are most averse to slavery there should be found much opposition to allow of the introduction among their people of men of the African race, and that stern legislation should be adopted against them. A writer in the *Philadelphia Ledger* alludes with emphatic condemnation to laws enacted in several of the northern States to the disadvantage of the people of color, and denounces the disabilities and restrictions imposed upon them as "repugnant to love, justice, religion, and humanity." Yet, while the present condition of things is regretted, and especially that a class of men who, under their many embarrassments, have nevertheless made rapid progress in education, morality, and respectability, should have so many barriers cast

in the way of their advancement. Yet, taking things and men as they are, and not as we might wish them to be, the writer justly adds:

"It is wise for us to make Africa the point to which black emigration, with the consent of the emigrants, should be encouraged; it is the land natural to the race, and where they may extirpate the horrid slave trade, develop a mighty commerce, and extend a knowledge of arts, science, literature, and religion; it is the country most exclusively their own, where caste will be least unfavorable, and where nature has erected the most insurmountable barrier against any molestation.

"Let no one be staggered by want of faith in the practicability of the settlement of our colored population in Liberia—not much more distant than we are from Europe. It is not to be done in a year. Such operations are not in the order of God's providence. In the meanwhile encourage their gradual removal; enlarge commercial intercourse with the young African Republic, and thus build up the means of cheap inter-communication—and let them see that while here they are under the law of caste, that there they are men, and their manhood universally acknowledged. The consequence seems certain that there will be an exodus gradually increasing with the facilities, until perhaps the nations of the earth may see a repetition of that produced by the famine in Ireland of a dozen years ago. But even if this shall never be realized, at least a large removal may take place, conveying our language, civilization, and Christianity to the millions of that continent, and contributing to one of the greatest blessings in the history of the world—in one sense even greater than that produced by the emigration hither, because not accompanied by the extinction of the aborigines."

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As an important document, relating possibly in future to the cause of colonization and to the interests of our country and the African race, we publish the following proclamation:

A PROCLAMATION

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and the people thereof, in which States that relation is, or may be, suspended or disturbed; that it is my purpose upon the next meeting of Congress to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all the slave States so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted or thereafter may voluntarily adopt the immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent with their consent upon this continent or elsewhere with the previously obtained consent of the Governments existing there, will be continued; that on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or any designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be thence-

forward and forever free, and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom; that the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States, and the fact that any State or the people thereof shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such States shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States.

That attention is hereby called to an act of Congress entitled "An act to make an additional article of war," approved March 13, 1862, and which act is in the words and figures following:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter the following shall be promulgated as an additional article of war, for the government of the Army of the United States, and shall be obeyed and observed as such:

ARTICLE —. All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor, who may have escaped from any persons to whom such labor is claimed to be due, and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court-martial of violating this article shall be dismissed from the service.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted, That this act shall take effect from and after its passage.*

Also, to the ninth and tenth sections of an act entitled "An act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, and to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1862, and which sections are in the words and figures following:

SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted, That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the Army; and all slaves captured from such persons or deserted by them and coming under the control of the Government of the United States; and all slaves of such persons found on (or being within) any place occupied by rebel forces and afterward occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captures of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude and not again held as slaves.*

SEC. 10. *And be it further enacted, That no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or District of Columbia, from any of the States shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime or some offense against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due, is his lawful owner, and has not been in arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretense whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender*

up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service.

And I do hereby enjoin upon and order all persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States to observe, obey, and enforce, within their respective spheres of service, the act and sections above recited.

And the Executive will, in due time, recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion, shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relations between the United States and their respective States and people, if the relation shall have suspended or been disturbed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the PRESIDENT:

WM. H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*



The *Liberia Herald* states that this lecture, by a brother of the late Secretary of the Treasury in Liberia, was the first delivered before the Lyceum of Monrovia. Its author died in Jamaica. The Lyceum has been renewed as the Young Men's Lyceum of Monrovia. The son of the author of this lecture, now in the missionary service in Jamaica, expresses a purpose of returning to his home in Liberia.

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY COLONEL WILLIAM N. LEWIS IN MONROVIA, ON THE CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE OLD MEN'S LYCEUM.

GENTLEMEN OF THE LYCEUM: It is with no little degree of sensibility of the extreme poverty of mind that I stand as a speaker before this meeting. The attitude that I assume is not one of my choice, as many of you are aware of, and had it not been that I conceived each of us bound to contribute what aid we can for our general and mutual improvement, I should have declined the honor of addressing you, and given my assent to some one more capable and competent as a speaker, to interest you to-day. You are aware, Gentlemen of the Lyceum, that when I was called upon to say something on the anniversary of this Institution, you did not nor did I expect to have to address you thus publicly; but notwithstanding this, incompetent as I am of addressing such an enlightened audience, I would have this respectable assembly know that I possess neither the vanity nor the presumption to conceive myself orator sufficient to duly interest them on so important an occasion, unwilling as I am to

give back when called upon at like times and thus publicly exhibit my weakness. * * * * *

This institution, denominated the "Liberia Lyceum," was raised this day a year, for the express object of diffusing a more general knowledge throughout the colony, and I need scarcely say, that, since its formation we have made some considerable improvement; for this fact must be conceded by all present. Without such Institutions for general improvement, in vain may we look forward and expect the prosperity of the colony. It is through the instrumentality of such institutions that we may be enabled to look ahead with some degree of comparative composure and reasonableness to the time when Liberia shall become the seat of learning, and give to this vast and benighted region the arts and sciences. Again, if we would wish success from this institution and the building up of the colony, we must foster and nurture our lyceum. To neglect it and the cultivation of our minds will be the sinking daily and hourly of our colony, and the end disgrace, and the total defeat of the experiment of our becoming a *People*; and then the well merited stigma upon us of our incapacity of becoming in *this land* a people, and the predictions of our enemies will be verified.

God has endowed us with all the faculties of acquisition and given us a country wherein we may exercise them. In fact our very existence in this land depends upon such efforts, and the progress we may make; and if we fail to make the necessary improvement we shall not be able to maintain our position against the aborigines, for they will not fail to extirpate us from the country. Gentlemen of the lyceum, I need not say to you that on us as a people much depends, as well for the present prosperity as for the rising generation of this infant Republic. If we would be a people, let not our stated meetings and the business of the institution be neglected; let us apply ourselves closely to study, consistently with our daily vocations, and then we need have no fears of not having competent persons capable of doing and transacting all such affairs as are common to large and powerful countries. No—no room for fear: we shall have doctors of medicine, divines, statesmen, lawyers, philosophers, soldiers, &c. May I not ask what is it that causes our little colony, so thickly surrounded by the most ferocious cannibals, at times from being swept off as with some mighty hurricane? It is our advantage of a power—a power derived from learning and civilized life. I say it is this, and this alone, that induces them to honor and respect us and admit our superiority—for "knowledge is power." But, if we neglect our lyceum and fail to improve our minds, our civilization will decrease proportionably to our neglect, and deprive us of the only advantage we have over them, and thereby lay ourselves open to be swept away in a day. It is to the rising generation that we must look to govern Liberia, and if we neglect to improve the mind we may not go down to our graves in peace and quietness, in the hope that Liberia will prosper. No, we shall be degraded, and the original lords of the soil will treat our posterity as intruders. Can we look to America with any degree of certainty for help from our colored brethren? No; they are not coming to share a part of the weight which now is almost too heavy for us.

Already have the enemies of the colony succeeded much in deterring the enlightened and respectable of our brothers from coming and joining with us in rearing a mighty Republic in this land. We may have to receive some from the land that gave us birth, but they will be such as can do us very little good in rearing the structure of a Government and pushing us forward in the scale of respectability and political standing with other people. But rather, on the contrary, they are calculated to retard our progress and throw contempt on the Liberian character generally, with our surrounding neighbors, who will be sure to treat such accordingly, and oftentimes will dispute with them for superiority, respectability, and standing.*

You, who have left the land that gave you birth for the sole object of the enjoyment of liberty and equality; that have tasted the sweets of liberty and possess all that fine sensibility of mind that places the human being above the brute and qualifies him for that enjoyment for which his Maker designed him, it is to you that we look for the building up of this colony, and no others. The lyceum and kindred institutions are inherently calculated to give us the power to maintain a dignity and respectability in the colony. It will enable us to pursue all those branches of mental and civil improvement which are essential to every Government, and which eventually carry it into prosperity, wealth, and independence. We should appear unnatural after having all the advantages in this country for improvement and did not make them subservient to the advancement of the mind, which advancement is essentially necessary in every sphere of life. Without a degree of intelligence, a man is scarcely able properly to conduct any sort of business. Intellectuality is essential to man's immortal destiny; for it puts him in a position to have just and correct conceptions of his Maker. The desire for knowledge is natural to every rational being, and appears to be a fundamental principle in the constitution of man. It is this desire which prompts men to contemplate creation and endeavor to ascertain the nature and qualities of matter in its various forms and conditions. Man, the noblest work of creation, was made with all the faculties requisite for contemplating the results of the Creator's labor. His understanding possesses the power of taking in a vast variety of ideas in relation to the immense multiplicity of objects which are perceptible by his external senses. Hence the various departments of science he has cultivated, the sublime discoveries he has made, and the noble inventions which his nobler mind has evolved. By the power of understanding, all that is wanted is a disposition to excel in literary and scientific attainments, and then we may survey the terraqueous globe in all its variety of land and water, continents, islands, and oceans, and determine its magnitude, weight, figure, and motions with certainty; explore its interior recesses; descend into the bottom of seas; arrange and classify its infinite variety of vegetables and animals; analyze the invisible atmosphere with which it is surrounded and determine the elementary principles

*These views are very erroneous, though in some cases they may have appeared otherwise.

of which it is composed; discover the nature of thunder and arrest the rapid lightning in its course; ascertain the law by which the planets are directed in their course; weigh the masses of different worlds; determine the size and distance of the stars and explain regions of the universe invisible to the unassisted eye, and whose distance probably exceed all human calculation and comprehension. Gentlemen of the lyceum, what is it in the world of science that by study and perseverance we cannot attain to? By means of scientific studies and investigations, we can transport ourselves across the mighty deep and at any time, during such a transportation determine, whether day or night, with nothing save an horizon of cloud and sea, our exact position, and direct our bark across the trackless waste of waters. We may employ steam machinery for impelling vessels against both wind and tide, and with velocity; and yet more, we may transport ourselves to the mid air even beyond the regions of the cloud. * * *

We can penetrate to regions of the universe immeasurably distant and contemplate the mountains and the vales, the rocks, and plains which diversify the scenery of different surrounding worlds. We can detect electricity in the invisible air and cause the hardest stone to melt like wax under its agency. We can direct the lightnings of heaven to accomplish our purposes. These minds improved have achieved, but the field, wide and ample, still remains unexplored, and in the science of stars we know as yet little. Gentlemen, the subjects just mentioned are important enough to employ our minds, and who can contemplatively look on such subjects without feelings of gratitude and praise to his Maker for having bestowed the faculties, thereby putting him in a position for such sublime and delightful contemplation of His works. When man opens his eyes upon the wonderfully and sublimely magnificent objects that surround him, he is convinced that there is some supreme Intelligent Power that called them into existence and that governs universal nature. An immediate consciousness of his own weakness, impotence, and dependence, the pain and misery to which he is subjected, lead him to implore the mercy and favor of an Invisible Mighty Power, by fragrant incense of sacrifice, by the humble strains of adoration, or the pious supplication of a penitent heart and contrite spirit. Man, more or less, is a religious being. In every stage of society and in every country has this truth been demonstrated—from the Tartar, that roams the wilds of Asia, and the African, who traverses these woods, to the philosopher, who with telescope surveys the heavens, or in his laboratory busies himself with matters of occult properties. The power of religion increases in proportion to the amount of knowledge gained. Religious reflections are the results of study; which show finite man his nothingness and impresses him with the reverential awe which spontaneously arises in the student's breast as he discovers any important truth, or has revealed to him any new feature of nature—events which at all times are delightful and stupendous, because caused by a stupendous Power. Our institution bids fair to become the nursery for such thoughts; and it is further calculated to fit us for all

the various duties devolving and that may devolve on us as members of a Government, and inspire us with a spirit of obedience to our rulers and our laws; in fine, it teaches all the duties of a citizen. Are these, then, not sufficient inducements for us to follow up our pursuits of literary and scientific attainments? I answer the question—yes. Another source of gratification which we shall enjoy in our pursuits, and that at all times renders the path of scientific study so agreeable, is that the mind will never be satisfied. One fact only points to another; one development only opens up another to our view, and which must also be examined and explored; and so you go on *ad infinitum*, without being satisfied and content:

“Insatiate to the spring I fly,
I drink, and yet am ever dry.”

Gentlemen of the lyceum, when we reflect on the causes that induced us to leave the land that gave us birth for this, not one there is but what must feel that he has been wronged. * * * We were liberty-seeking Pilgrims, determined to seek a land in which our capacities should be tested. And do you not think that if ever a wretch disbelieved it, he has discovered his error before this? I should think so. Again, there are causes why we should attend particularly to the cultivation of the mind; for I have no doubt that it would be truly gratifying to the benevolent and philanthropic few—who are now our patrons, and foster us from time to time with money and services—to hear that our colony was improving much in literature, and that we bid fair to become a people. Let us deceive our enemies. We *can* and *will* be a *people in this land*. Though our feelings at times for our mother country are like those of him who has been made to forsake his near and dear relatives, yet we would die, yes, “die a thousand deaths,” rather than return to bear the yoke! Methinks I see each Liberian’s bosom heave at the thought, and hear him exclaim: “Death! yes, death is preferable to the galling yoke!” What! after promising ourselves to be a people and figuring in this little Republic, then to condescend to servitude in the remotest degree? The man that would consent to it has not a spark of soul; then let *him* go, for he is fit only to be a slave.

Liberians, look not back to America for enjoyment. It is only ephemeral, if it can at all be. We have a large and fertile country around us. All these enjoyments can be had around us, and the resources have already by industry, enterprise, and economy, begun to lay the foundation of this Republic. The lyceum and such like institutions are calculated to do immense good. It forms a great share in the many things that tend to make a people. Let us continue our institution with renewed zeal. It imparts to us all such information as enables us to pursue all those improvements to which individuals must attain who are attached to wealthy and independent nations. I hesitate not to predict that if we continue as I have before counseled, that it will not be long before you will see our edifices of worship, halls of legislation, courts of justice,

all splendidly erected and supplied with their several functionaries reared by the "Liberia Lyceum," and not excelled, even in Europe or America.

Agriculture, that great and mighty source from which wealth and independence arise and accrue to all countries, must not be neglected by us. To neglect it, would be to give up all future hope of our arriving at any prosperity and of erecting for ourselves a nationality. Look and behold the many necessities of life we need from foreign countries, and which this soil produces and can be made to bring forth in abundance; shall our acres, then, be barren and uncultivated while capable of yielding us the requisites, and shall we continue to import those commodities which we ought and may yet expect? No, gentlemen; to neglect this all important branch of our natural creation, upon which all our future hope as well as our present depends, must be considered highly culpable in us, and we ought to sit silently under the epithet of a want of "mental capacity," so often heaped upon us by our enemies. No; we cannot adopt a policy so distressingly, so degrading, suicidal. Let us deceive them. Let us attend to the cultivation of our lands. Let us not neglect it, for it is evident to all who have in the last read history that all agricultural countries have prospered while their fields were cultivated, and declined so soon as there was neglect thereof: that country begins to decrease in wealth, dignity, honor, and population, and in many instances is conquered by neighboring States, if not previously swept by famine. The advantages of farming have, I am sure, evinced themselves to us for the last three or four years; and I have no doubt but that farming recommends itself sufficiently to our understanding at this time, and in all probability will hereafter be largely attended to. The little notice now paid to the subject makes us in some little degree independent of foreign vessels. Why, now, if no vessel comes for a while we shall not starve. We can maintain ourselves for some time by the products of the lands here. Again, let our ideas be extended on the subject a little further. Why may we not give in exchange for the productions of other countries some of ours? Are not the productions of our land greatly demanded abroad—cotton, sugar, indigo, coffee, pepper, and many other products which are raised in similar climates? These things must be done if we would become wealthy and wish to see our treasury filled to overflowing. We *must* come to this. Not until then will we enjoy anything like equilibrium in trade. We give to foreigners every advantage over us; and they will continue to have it until our land produces something to answer their exchange. And until such an event be attained, in vain may we look forward with any degree of certainty when we shall be deemed a nation. There is nothing so calculated to sink us so deep in natural or political existence as our neglect of the cultivation of the land and mind; and nothing possessing the tendency to consolidate, raise, and exalt us in the estimation of the world as a proper attention to these two objects; and when our minds become more generally engaged with these two levers of our future

existence, Liberia will then take her stand with the nations of the earth. Our Government will then be elected to make arrangements with other countries for commercial transactions; and then you will see coming amongst us commercial agents, consuls, ambassadors, and such others as are usually sent to acknowledge an independent State. And shall not this be reciprocal? Yes, Liberia's flag shall be waving over her sons and floating over her national barks that shall convey them to distant climes and to the different foreign marts; and her ministers plenipotentiary pleading her cause in foreign courts and asserting her rights as a nation, thereby causing her flag to be respected and her sons protected.

Gentlemen of the lyceum, be not discouraged. Let not the gloom that sometimes overspreads our colony cause you to despair of Liberia being respected as a nation, and her sons considered as men and quoted in foreign climes.*

I would ask in what state was all the world before Africa imparted the light of civilization and science? Did not Egypt give to all the world the first form of science and literature? Yes, she did. To Africa, then, is the world indebted for all the general diffusion of science, and her ruins that now remain to be seen are another source of knowledge derived from the amazing structure, Towns and palaces which show plainly of the greatness of the ancient Africans or Egyptians at that early period, and what would it have been if they had continued on their progress? One would scarcely believe, after knowing the present state of Africa, that she was once reckoned the highest State in learning. To reside on her shores was preferable to either Spain or Italy, and was deemed a *sine qua non* among the literati. Italy herself drew the principal support in corn from her. Egypt and Carthage were once great and flourishing places; the former disputed with the Assyrians and Greeks, and the latter with the Romans for supremacy. Then, gentlemen of the lyceum, if this was once the state of Africa, cannot, may not, she be rendered so again? Let us be encouraged and stimulated in our course, and think more of the best and most effective mode to adopt for the tilling of the soil, and when we have successfully achieved this point, Liberia will arise from her low, impoverished, and unrecognized condition, to assume a nationality and be associated with the kingdoms of the earth. No longer, then, will her sons labor under odium impressed on them from without, that "they are incapable of becoming a people." The fact will then be demonstrated, and her statesmen, divines, philosophers, and all the scientific men gracing her different departments will be seen, heard, courted, and feted through vast regions. Will we not see, returning from their missions, ambassadors, consuls, and commercial agents, and will not our periodicals teem with the different arrangements they have made with the powerful nations? Treaties ratified, negotiation entered into, commercial compacts formed, and all the various affairs profitable to our Government. Gentlemen, these are not the mere specula-

*This address was delivered years before the independence of Liberia.

tive dreams of an enthusiast, but the result of calm, cool, deliberate reasoning, founded upon the theory of other countries. And now may I invoke the spirit of an Ashmun, a Carey, a Randall, a Devany, a Waring, a Macklin, and shall I not add a Johnson, who once mingled in our affairs, but now are happy spirits, chanting praises to their Maker; may I not invoke their shades to inspire you with hope, courage, resolution, and perseverance to continue your pursuits in this land? I do invoke them. No doubt they are to-day present with us in this hall, to witness the celebration of a cause that bids fair to do incalculable good to their own terrestrial homes. Yes, methinks I see the happy spirits hovering over our heads, buoyed up in mid-air by their golden pinions, con-juring us, by all that is sacred, good, and profitable, to continue our pursuits.

[From the Home and Foreign Record for August.]

THE ASHMUN INSTITUTE.

The importance of the Ashmun Institute, in connection with the colored population of our country, and with the future of Africa, can scarcely be overrated. We hope that the day is at hand when our churches, over the length and breadth of the land, shall be awakened to a practical recognition of the value of this Seminary. The leading minds in Liberia, who appreciate the necessity for education in their young and flourishing Republic, look with intense anxiety to this rising nursery for the ministers, lawyers, merchants, and legislators, who are, under God, to mould the destinies of a rising nation. The following report on the state of the college will be read with interest:

"During the past year, this college has pursued the even tenor of its way, educating, in theology and general literature, a portion of the Ethiopian race.

"As some of the students had little preparatory training, the Principal has paid special attention to the elementary department. Every student is carefully instructed in English grammar, including composition; in sacred, ecclesiastical, and general history; in the Holy Scriptures and the Shorter Catechism. Such as seem qualified pursue their studies in science, language, sermonizing, &c. Most of the students have been attentive, and these have made respectable progress. There has been manifest improvement in general conduct, especially in punctuality, regularity, temper, and good order. In these respects, as also in health and cheerfulness, we believe that there has been a fair proportion of enjoyment as in any other college in the country.

"The financial pressure has obliged some to leave, and the few that

remain—only nine—to endure privations. But they have borne such trials with a fortitude cheering to their benefactors.

"Of the students that left during the year, two have become teachers, one in a neighboring State, another in Africa; two went to the army; one to be stated supply in a Baptist city congregation; and another to pursue his studies at a New School Presbyterian seminary. For the places thus left, many of our sable brethren have eagerly sought, but our poverty has obliged us to exclude all additional candidates except two.

"Communications from the *alumni* of our Institute, especially from the three clerical missionaries in Africa, have caused us to thank God and take courage. The good health which God has granted them, while so many white missionaries have suffered sorely, confirms the principle that God has adapted the Ethiopian constitution to the African climate. Of course Christians should labor to qualify many of them for evangelizing and elevating their race. This has long been taught in our Church, as appears from the minutes of our Supreme and subordinate courts since before the era of National Independence. Our college is an exponent of the sentiments expressed by our fathers in 1774 and 1787. The whole utterance of 1787, as recorded in Baird's Digest, pp. 806, 807, deserves marked attention at this time, especially the overture, 'That the Synod of New York and Philadelphia recommend in the warmest terms, to every member of their body and to all the churches and families under their care, to do everything in their power consistent with the rights of civil society, to promote the abolition of slavery, and the instruction of *negroes*, whether *bond* or *free*.' In active, judicious, and enlightened efforts to elevate the sons of Ham, our Church has long been in advance of some other bodies, which more prominently parade their zeal. Yet, in having only one college for the millions of Hamites, here and elsewhere, whose call to come over and help them we distinctly acknowledge, and in leaving that college so poorly supported, are we not verily guilty concerning our brethren? We have seen the anguish of their souls; we have mourned for the distress brought upon us and our country for the wrongs inflicted upon *them* and upon *us*, by their ignorance and degradation. Piety, philanthropy, and patriotism cry concerning them, 'Educate, educate, educate!' Unenlightened, they are neither fit for being citizens at home nor colonists abroad. From being a perplexity and a curse, they may be elevated into another golden empire, blessed and diffusing bliss over the world, by the grace of the Lord Jesus attending a high Christian education. To aid in this effort, the Ashmun Institute invites the friends of America, of Africa, and of man.

"J. W. MARTIN, *Principal*."

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE—AFRICA.

The Rev. J. R. Amos and his wife, of the mission at Niffau, Liberia, arrived at New York on the 7th ultimo, having returned on account of Mrs. Amos's health, which has received benefit from the voyage. Mr. Easkine reports thirty-eight scholars in his school at Clay-Ashland. The Sabbath School at that station is also reported as doing well; two-thirds of the scholars are recaptured Africans.

DEATH OF A MISSIONARY.—The Rev. William Clemens, a member of the Corisco Mission of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, died at sea on the 24th of June last, being at the time on his return to this country. Mr. Clemens was a native of Wheeling, Virginia, and had been a faithful and efficient missionary for some years previous to his decease.

The mission to Central Africa, founded by the Rev. Father Knobelecher, Roman Catholic, has received twenty-three new laborers. They are Franciscans. The stations erected by Mr. Knobelecher at Schellal, in the south of Egypt, at Khartun, &c., have expanded into hospitals and convents.

Letters have reached us from Monrovia, dated to the 5th of April; from Niffau, March 17; and from Corisco, to the 19th of March. Mr. De Heer has made a visit to the river Congo, for the benefit of his health, and had returned to his station at Corisco; it would probably be necessary for him soon to visit this country for the same cause, after six years' labor in that exhausting climate. In the Annual Report, the mission among the Niffau people (Liberia) is spoken of as not unlikely to be suspended. We are glad to learn now that Mr. T. R. Amos has returned to the station, and reports the people as being more friendly—indeed, as quite unwilling to have the missionaries leave them.

Letters have been received from Corisco, dated to the 19th of June; and from Liberia, to the 1st of July. Mr. Clark, writing under date of May 19th, at Corisco, speaks of a Vocabulary of the Benga which he is collecting, which now embraces two thousand five hundred words; the fullest Vocabulary before collected contains about one thousand words. Mr. Nassau adds a postscript to his letter, giving the latest date, as acknowledged above, and saying: "We are well and prospering."

The Rev. C. De Heer, of the Corisco mission, arrived at New York on the 22d of August, after a long voyage. Mr. De Heer returns on a visit for his health, which, we are glad to learn, is somewhat improved.

The Government has employed Mr. Daniel Baker as an itinerant minister among the recaptured Africans living along the St. Paul's river. Daniel Baker is one of the recaptives landed from the Pons, in 1847. He is a man of about twenty-eight years; a devout member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and for many years has, under the direction of that church, filled some such

position as the Government has now engaged him in—an exhorter in and about the settlements of New Georgia. Baker's present *status*, both as a pious Christian and an intelligent fellow-citizen, far surpasses anything that, without a personal knowledge, could be expected of him.

FUNERAL OF REV. GEORGE W. BETHUNE, D. D.

The corpse of Dr. Bethune having arrived from Florence, Italy, according to announcement, his funeral took place Wednesday afternoon, September 3d, at the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church, Fifth avenue, corner of Twenty-ninth street. The relatives of the deceased, the consistory of the Twenty-first street Reformed Dutch Church, clergy of the city, the members of the Historical Society, the Council of the New York University, the Professors of the Theological Seminary of New Brunswick, met at Twenty-first street Reformed Dutch Church, at one o'clock, P. M., whence, after prayer had been offered by Rev. Dr. Vermilye, they followed his remains in procession to the church in Fifth avenue.

The choir sang a selected and appropriate anthem; a portion of the Liturgy was read by Chancellor Ferris; a comprehensive and eloquent prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Quackenbush, formerly coadjutor of Dr. Bethune in his ministerial work in Brooklyn; and a beautiful hymn, composed by Dr. Bethune, was sung.

Then followed addresses from Rev. Dr. Hutton and Rev. Mr. Willets, both redolent of the memories of long-continued personal and Christian intimacy and friendship with the deceased. After prayer by Rev. Dr. Taylor, and an anthem Doxology, the procession was formed—Rev. Drs. Abram Van Ness, Hutton, Van Dyke, Adams, Storrs, Vinton, Kennedy, Smith, and Prime, acting as pall-bearers—to convey the remains to Greenwood Cemetery. The attendance was large, and the galleries and body of the house crowded, to pay respect to one who chose rather to be a servant of Jesus Christ than to pursue the honors and pleasures which the world proffered, and almost thrust upon him. His large-hearted philanthropy, and noble spirit of self-renunciation for Christ's sake, will long enbalm his memory in the hearts of the good. Africa and Colonization had no truer friend than he whose memory has thus been honored.—*Colonization Journal*.

ITEMS OF INTELLIGENCE.

DEATH OF ANTHONY BURNS, THE FUGITIVE SLAVE.—Anthony Burns, the fugitive slave, who was arrested in Boston in 1854, remanded to bondage, and afterwards redeemed, died at St. Catherines,

Canada West, on the 27th of July. His disease was consumption, acquired by exposure while trying to clear from debt the church of which he was pastor.

Mrs. Margaret Stanley, widow of the late Bias Stanley, died this week, leaving her property for benevolent purposes. Her husband died a few years ago, leaving two houses in College street and one in Dwight street, the income of the same, after the death of his widow, to be applied for the support of the gospel, and for educational purposes among the colored people of New Haven. Henry White, John G. North, and Atwater Treat, are the trustees to manage and appropriate the same. Mr. and Mrs. Stanley were slaves until they were forty years of age, and then began a life of industry and economy, which enabled them to obtain a good living, and to amass \$6,000. They were both members of the Temple-street Congregational Church, and died in the full hope of a blessed inheritance.—*New Haven Journal*.

The *Surinam Weekblad* announces that "The question of slavery in the American colonies of Holland is at last arranged. All the slaves of these colonies will be free on the 1st of July, 1863, on the following conditions: 1. An indemnity of 300 guilders or 1,825 francs will be paid to the slave-owners for every slave, without distinction of age or sex. 2. The slaves will undergo a system of apprenticeship upon the plantations during three years. 3. They will receive wages in return for their labor, one-half of which will be paid to the Government."

A colored woman, lately deceased, bequeathed to the Methodist Missionary Society \$1,200. This woman, fifty years a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was a slave up to her fifteenth year, when she obtained her freedom papers on account of her integrity of character. She was never married, never received above six dollars per month at service, and yet she had, up to the time of the beginning of her sickness, earned and saved \$9,300.

A memorial of a remarkable character from colored persons in California, has been presented to Congress. It asks Congress to provide means of colonizing the free blacks either in Africa or Central America. It is well written, its tone is moderate, and its arguments are strong.

Mrs. Mary G. Swayne, late of Cincinnati, Ohio, has bequeathed \$5,000 to the American Colonization Society, and \$10,000 to the American Bible Society. These bequests will be of value at this time.

A letter from St. Helena announces the capture, by a British war steamer, of a slaver, and the rescue of six hundred negroes. It is reported that several thousand slaves are in the barracoons on the coast, ready for shipment when opportunities offer. A steamer is reported to have escaped with fifteen hundred slaves shipped at Whydah.

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT BENSON.

53 MANCHESTER STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE,
LONDON, August 30, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR: It has been a couple of months since I communicated with you last, since when I have spent about seven weeks upon the continent, and returned to this city on the 24th instant. My tour upon the continent was very pleasant, and I feel grateful to a gracious Providence that my system, which from public duties and cares had well nigh run down before I left home, is now resuscitated. I hope to be able to leave for Liberia in the October mail packet, so that the extension of my visit to the United States is not at all likely. I hope Mr. Roberts, whom I commissioned in June, has succeeded in adjusting our affairs (accounts with the American Colonization Society.) There seems to be exciting and trying times in the United States just now. I have no doubt that, under the guidance of Providence, matters will converge to the proper point ere long.

I am, sir, with great respect,

STEPHEN A. BENSON.

Rev. R. R. GURLEY, *Cor. Sec. A. C. S.*

THE COLONIZATION CAUSE.

The Colony of Liberia has opened to our colored brethren fields of enterprise from which, but for it, they would have been excluded. It enabled them to prove to the world their capacity for self-government. It has afforded a home to thousands of re-captured Africans—no less than four thousand having been taken within the last two years. The Colony has long had common schools, and more recently the College of Liberia has been founded.

In a word, it is an independent Christian community, having all the appliances of religion and civilization, and therefore fitted to exert a mighty influence for good on the dark regions of Central Africa.

But it is as yet in its infancy, and calls upon us for help. Rev. Mr. Connelly, Assistant Secretary of the New York State Colonization Society, proposes to lay the claims of Liberia before the people of Middletown in a day or two, and all who feel interested in the subject would do well to attend his lectures. Except the suppression of the rebellion, there is no topic of greater concern now before the American people than this.—*Whig Press, Middletown.*

THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

The reply to a letter of inquiry concerning the influence upon the Liberian Republic of Congo importations, Mr. Crammel, a

clergyman of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and attached to the African mission under the Rev. Bishop Payne, writes as follows :

I am satisfied that President Benson does not exaggerate in the declaration that we can receive twenty thousand without any detriment to our own civilization. There are one or two provisions to be connected with this, namely, that our Christian Societies may not be harassed by the cry from Missionary Societies in America, "Go preach to the heathen in the interior," when our work is in our own settlements, in our own families, among our own servants and laborers; and when our indirect influence upon the interior tribes will be a deal more powerful than a few feeble attempts at missionary work in the interior; and next that the friends of Liberia sustain our effort to increase our schools and educate the humblest of our citizens, namely, native servants and Congo recaptives. This cannot be pressed too strongly. There is a deficiency of females among the recaptives; there is an excess of females among the colonists; and just as fast as these new men are civilized they will intermarry among us. This has already, to a small extent, taken place; and the whole process shows the absolute need of an immediate effort for a wide diffusion of education in the Republic.

If the Republic can withstand the influence of twenty thousand recaptured Africans, from the Congo coast, its capacity for receiving negroes from the United States, emancipated of free-born, must be many fold greater. Thousands of slaves, especially those who have been household servants, are qualified, by long contact with intelligence and refinement, to aid essentially in that "wide diffusion of education" which the Republic so much needs, and would extend rather than restrict the capacity of Liberia for importations from other sources. So far as we have information, the African Republic is by far the most inviting field for colored emigrants, whether regard be had for their own welfare or that of the people to whom they go. Hayti, Jamaica, the Danish Islands, &c., all present their claims, but it may be reasonably questioned whether American negroes of any class would profit by the change. The Central American scheme is problematical, for it remains to be seen whether the importation of Africans would be submitted to by that Government, without armed opposition.

Emigration to Hayti, which has been in progress for a year or two with very fair success, is interrupted, if not wholly suspended, by difficulties with the agency—Mr. Redpath having resigned, as alleged, because he could not induce the Haytien Government to adopt measures which he deemed essential to success in the emigration movement. The official paper, the *Pine and Palm*, is suspended. Thus Liberia, as a refuge for the colored man, has no rival worthy of notice. All other experiments at African colonization have proved failures. But no one can say this of the African Republic, now recognized by the United States Government as an independent nation.—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce*.

RECEIPTS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

From the 20th of August to the 20th of September, 1862.

MAINE.

By Rev. F. Batler:	
Biddeford—Hon. William L. Haines	\$5 00
Saco—Hon. Philip Eastman, Hon. T. M. Hayes, \$5 each. Moses Lowell, Esq., Hon. E. B. Wiggan, Hon. T. Jordan, \$2 each. E. P. Burnham, Esq., \$1.....	17 00
Portland—Mrs. Phebe Cummings.....	500 00
	<hr/> \$52 00

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

New Hampshire Colonization Society, by L. D. Stevens, Treasurer—	
New Boston—Members of Presbyterian Society.....	10 00
Hollis—Congr. national Soc'y..	19 83
Lancaster—William Holkins..	5 00
	<hr/> 34 83

MASSACHUSETTS.

Newburyport—Ladies' Colonization Society, by Harriet Sanborn, Treasurer.....	24 00
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CONNECTICUT.

By Rev. John Orcutt, \$201 50—	
Bridgeport—E. Fairfield, \$25. Mrs. Silvanus Sterling, Henry Bishop, each \$10. J. C. Loomis, H. Lyon, Mrs. C. Simons, N. Wheeler, Mrs. Ellen Foster, G. W. Bacon, Mrs. Ira Sherman, each \$5. Geo. Sterling, S. C. Spooner, each \$3. Rev. J. M. Willey, Misses Ward, W. H. Perry, each \$2. Mrs. Dr. Adams, R. B. Lacey, E. Birdsey, Mrs. S. M. Hawley, Thos. Hawley, Mrs. G. Thompson, N. Beardsley, each \$1. Mrs. S. C. Perry, 50 cents. Colored Friends, (cash), each 25 cents.....	100 00
Warebury—Mrs. Sarah A. Scovill, \$7. A. Benedict, \$6. Mrs. Susan Brouson, \$5. W. R. Hitchcock, Dr. C. G. Carrington, Mrs. R. W. Carter, each \$3. S. M. Buckingham, \$2. S. J. Holmes, Rev. Dr. Clark, each \$1.....	31 00
Southington—F. M. Whittlesey, Henry Lawrey, Edw. Twitchell, each \$5. Levi Curtis, C.	

H. Upson, T. A. Hart, each \$1. Geo. H. Finch, \$1. C. K. Carter, 50 cents.....	22 50
Farmington—F. H. Whitmore, \$10. H. Mygatt, \$5. Fisher Gay, J. H. McCorele, E. L. Hart, each \$2. Rev. Dr. Porter, Rev. Levi L. Paine, Thomas Mygatt, C. D. Cowles, W. M. Wadsworth, Wm. Gay, A. Bidwell, each \$1—\$28, in part to constitute Rev. Levi L. Paine a life member.....	23 00
Canton—Ephraim Mills, A. O. Mills, each \$10, in part to constitute Rev. C. N. Lyman a life member.....	10 00
Collinsville—S. P. Norton, B. F. Sears, each \$3. H. N. Goodwin, G. H. Nearing, L. Colton, J. D. Andrews, each \$1..	10 00
	<hr/> 201 50

NEW YORK.

Hopewell Centre—Mrs. S. Burch, her second payment for educating a young Liberian for the ministry, to be called after her late husband, Robert Burch.....	20 00
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OHIO.

Morning Sun—The estate of Joseph Marshall, deceased, by Rev. G. McMullan.....	10 00
Amia—Annuity left by the late John Vaneaten, by J. C. McMillan.....	10 00
Columbus—Legacy of J. Ridgway, deceased, by J. J. Fer-son, executor.....	1,000 00
	<hr/> 1,020 00

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Miscellaneous.....	223 25
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FOR REPOSITORY.

MASSACHUSETTS—Pepprell—H. J. Olwin, for 1862....	1 00
CONNECTICUT—Danbury—Mrs. S. W. Bonney, to January, 1863.....	1 00

Total Repository.....	2 00
Donations.....	802 33
Legacies.....	1,020 00
Miscellaneous.....	223 25

Aggregate amount...\$2,046 03

Dec 13 1862